1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 463 618 621 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 292 513 554 558 784 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kavn*, or perineal band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtil*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 512 788 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10 and saying *Sawi* or *Swawi*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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234 513 554 761 784 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 272 554 761 784 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 234 618 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvali-kartmokh*.

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234 463 554 618 Melgars people could hold the office of *wurzol*, but had no *wurzalir* themselves. At the present time the majority of men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wurzol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 554 764 793 The *wurzol* has to go through more complicated ordination ceremonies than the *palidurtwakk*, and has a distinctly higher degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wurzol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wurzol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wurzali* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, and at Nòdrs in the *tarpali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[534] [558] [574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 784 793 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *mara* or sieve, the *wasi* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places.

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *masw*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man.

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions.

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *peral*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently *Nödrners* (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *mersir* at the *Nödrs ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kwwarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Kut*," and the Tarthar man replies "*ir kodöl*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwwarum*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idiit*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Avikwwudi*

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *aṭhaṛvasol*, after the *poṇṇ* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *paiol*.

The Kaltmokh

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *paiol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *paiol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pāl* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvu*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *paiol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mōdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *paiol*.

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *paiol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *paiol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *peṛkursol* and a higher called *tuvitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *peṭuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth.

The *peṛkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

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the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *putsui* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarutumkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwardrkddthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*pushars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mödr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *highlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.